and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe.

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes.

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep.

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head.

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider.

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side.

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has

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of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Franciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal, and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage." "They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away. In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31, 1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage." And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted, and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

and a fringe is made of hair combed forward over the shaven area. 585
The shaven temple makes the face look very wide.

In order to promote fertility, among the Dukagini it was not [842] ●
uncommon to keep a pair of goats or sheep penned in the corner of the living-room, even when it was at the top of a tall tower and some twenty people lived in it.

On marriage, no kind of privacy is observed. Bride and bridegroom [592]
take their place in the common apartment.

A colossal feast is usual at a wedding, and in the old days it might last several days. A Djakovan friend told me that three oxen, fifteen sheep, and God knows how many fowls had been eaten at his. At all weddings any amount of firing takes place. The tribesman goes on shooting so long as he has a cartridge left, for sheer joy of the "pop-bang." One man I knew fired his whole stock of six hundred cartridges.

Weddings in the Towns.—In Scutari I was guest at two Catholic weddings. The bridegroom saw the bride for the first time in church. She was brought in closely veiled and unveiled only before the altar. Weddings were always on a Monday or Saturday—usually a Monday. "It would be most inconvenient to marry on any other day," was the sole explanation findable.

This is what took place: The marriage had been arranged by the 584
relatives on each side after long conferences. On Sunday afternoon
I was invited to the bridegroom's house to see the "gifts." No bride- 583
price in money is paid. Four Scutari ladies in full dress sat on the floor 585
at one end of the room and three men at the other, in charge of the "gifts." These were always the same, and varied only in quality according to the bridegroom's means. The "gifts" were a pair of boots, a pair of slippers, and four boxes of scented soap (or perfume), which were in charge of the men. The ladies watched over a large red silk hand- [291]
kerchief, a pair of white cotton stockings (with pink suspenders sewn on a card, a greatly admired novelty), a pair of scissors, needles and pins in a casket, a distaff to make her a good housewife, and a handsome [301]
necklace of large silver-gilt coins, set in filigree. This is called the "dupa." It is worn by all married women, and is sometimes of gold and very valuable. No doubt it represents the bride-price.

The boots had high gilt heels, yellow uppers, pink elastic sides, [291]
and patent-leather toes, embroidered minutely with wreaths of flowers. They were filled with sweetly scented flowers, that the bride's path on earth might be sweet. We admired the gifts and awaited the arrival of the relative who was to take them to the bride. He arrived with several others; and they dragged from another room the bridegroom, who resisted strongly because "he was so shy." Bride and bridegroom [576]
have to assume a superhuman modesty.

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585 The presents were tied up in two gaily coloured handkerchiefs. We went into the yard. The ladies joined hands and so did the men, and
[533] stood in opposite rows singing alternate verses. The men asked if the bride was ready, and the ladies sang she was a lump of sugar. The youth who was acting as gift-carrier was then sprinkled with holy water by the mistress of the house, and went on his errand. All was over for that day. On Monday, at 9 a.m., we were called to the bridegroom's house.
[534] A large party of male relatives and friends was gathered there, with a violin, tambouritza, and concertina. The bridegroom and his two witnesses sat in the yard on chairs. I went to the women's room. The
[542 301] display was gorgeous. On full-dress occasions the Scutarene Catholic ladies' dress touches the sublime. The exquisite fineness of the embroidered white silk veils, the skill with which they were draped; the coral and gold stitched "salman" which gleamed through the veil and stood in a peak over the forehead; the long tassels of seed-pearls or filigree gold that hung from the ears; the lavish display on neck and breast of great gold coins, and the great scarlet cloaks made up a scene of real magnificence. Each lady sat, a vast heap, on the floor, her huge purple-black "branaveks" (bloomers) billowing round her and the skirts of her scarlet stiffly embroidered "djuba" spreading like a peacock's tail behind her, with all the solemn dignity of an Eastern
[262] idol. Coffee and piles of sweets circulated. An empty chair in the corner awaited the bride. Then an ox-cart creaked down the lane. The oxen were decked with marigolds. They brought the bride's coffer. We went to meet it. The women joined hands and sang a song of greeting, while with difficulty ten men carried the huge painted chest into the women's room. It contained all the bride's clothing; all her husband's underclothing (she has to make him at least two dozen of everything); and all the house-linen (likewise her work). Two of the bridegroom's female relatives now went in a gaily decorated carriage to fetch the bride. The horses' heads were beflagged with the coloured handker-
[281] chiefs which play a large part in the life of the people. The ladies took with them a parasol for the bride and the scarlet cloak ("japangi"), which is the gift always of the bridegroom to the bride, and is worn by married women only. The bride was to be conveyed to the cathedral.

The bridegroom then entered the women's room to say farewell.
[777] He wept real tears and was dragged away weeping and resisting, the ladies sprinkling him with holy water as he left. After a long wait, punctuated with coffee, sweets, and rakia, a cry arose: "They are coming!" In the carriage were the two female bride-leaders, neither of whom may be the mother. A sister, aunt, or sister-in-law may take
[777 842] the duty. Between them sat the bride motionless, rigid, and closely veiled; and opposite sat a little boy whose presence is necessary to

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enable her to bear male children. The ladies again sang songs of greeting. Then the two bride-leaders manipulated the bride as though she were a lay figure. She was absolutely passive. They raised her to her feet, set her feet one after the other, shod in the wedding-boots, on to the steps of the carriage, and then on the ground. They then draped her with the red silk handkerchief sent her yesterday, and pinned it to the top of her head. Supported under the armpits she was slowly shuffled across the yard. It was but a few yards long, but her passage took full ten minutes. She was pelted with sweets, which a crowd of children gathered, and sprinkled with holy water, and led into the women's room. The bridegroom then arrived on foot and went to the men's room. I followed the bride. She was led backwards, and seated, still blinded by the veils, upon the chair in the corner. Her hands were laid on her sash and nervously grasped a folded handkerchief. Her immobility as her attendants handled her was so inhuman as to be almost horrible. One of her leaders carefully lifted a corner of her head-coverings and gave her lemonade to drink under it. The attendants themselves were then ceremoniously served with refreshments. They then removed her wedding-boots and put on the slippers, raised her to her feet, lifted a corner of her veil, said good-bye under it, and withdrew. The poor bride still stirred never a finger, but the violent heaving of her breast showed her on the verge of hysterics. She pulled herself together and the ordeal continued. One of the bridegroom's female relatives unpinned the red handkerchief from the bride's head and held it as a screen before her. Behind it her headdress was changed. Her white veil was removed, and a yellow beflowered silk one substituted.

The great moment had now come. We were to see her face. A lady on each side of her threw back the veil and showed her off. She was exposed to a crowd of staring females. Her head dropped modestly. Her attendants each placed a finger under her chin and raised it again. The sweat streamed down her face. They wiped it. They straightened her wide coat, settled her sash, and waved the flies off her. Such was her Spartan heroism that when a fly, unobserved by the attendants, crawled up her face, she did not even by a twitch show that she was alive. Then a front row of chairs was arranged and all the men came in. The bridegroom, witnesses, and father took their seats. The background was crowded with miscellaneous youths. They stared with all their eyes at the luckless girl, who in vain dropped or turned her head, only to have it put straight again.

Only the bridegroom held his head down and would not look. His witnesses grasped his chin and made him look, and he faltered, "But I've seen her already."

The wedding song then began:—

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salts" was the best remedy for all internal pains and begged for it. As he was refused, he induced his friends next visiting day to bring him some and took a huge dose. The results were disastrous: he collapsed. "This time I made sure he would die," said the doctor. But he did not, and three weeks afterwards he walked home, apparently none the worse.

The Worm of Life.—This singular belief I found common in the Albanian mountains; I can find no parallel to it elsewhere. A worm is said to live in the ear and be the centre of the life of the individual. If the worm dies, the individual dies. I learnt this first in Shala. A very sickly child was brought to me for advice. He suffered from bad earache and headache. I found his ears completely blocked with filth and wax, and one flyblown with maggots in it. I told the parents to take him to the Austrian hospital in Scutari and wrote a note for them to take to my friend, the doctor. As usual they wanted an "ilatch" (remedy) to work an immediate cure. I explained that no ilatch was of use. The ear must be washed out by the doctor. At once there was great excitement. Old Marko, much shocked, explained to me that washing would drown the worm and the child would drop down dead. All were amazed that I should suggest such a thing, saying reproachfully: "But, lady, you who have been to school must surely know the worm of life is in the ear." The wax in the ear, they said, was the worm's excrement. I objected to Marko: "But this is folly. You might as well say that the moisture from the nose proves that a worm lives there." He retorted contemptuously that everyone knew there was no worm in the nose.

The child was not taken to the hospital and no doubt died untended.

Further inquiry showed that this belief in the worm of life in the ear was very general. I have not found it recorded elsewhere; nor is it easy to explain.

An ancient and strange belief that certain animals and women could conceive through the ear existed up to the Middle Ages. Plutarch gives as a reason for cat-worship in Egypt the "fact" that the cat conceives through its ears. A Latin hymn to the Virgin, "Quæ per aures concepisti," offers this belief as explanation of the Immaculate Conception. The ear thus appears to have been regarded as the seat of life—or at least the gateway to it.

Is the Albanian worm of life a last echo of such a belief? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In the section on "Taboo on Showing the Face" I suggest that the habit of covering the ears with a head-wrap may indicate that the ears were a vulnerable spot. It is, at least, an interesting coincidence that ear-protecting and a belief in the ear as a centre of life are found in the same district.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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bathing the affected member three times in warm water, rubbing it with salt, and finally passing over it the blade of a knife with the words, "As this salt melts, so may the evil melt!" The house is then swept with a new broom, the sweeper saying as the dust is swept out, "So may all evil be swept away!"

If ringworm (οὐθι) appears with the new, it may be made to disappear with the waning moon, by covering the place with wood ashes, and repeating at the same time the charm:

> Came the spot and made him foul,
> Came the ash and made him whole.[1]

The remedy for the bite of a tarantula is to place the sufferer on a heap of dung, while nine women bearing the name of Maro[2] sit round him in a circle and chant the following incantation:—

> Nine Maros here are we,
> And but one art thou.
> Thou hast worked, thy work succeeds;
> We have worked without success.
> Evil hast thou wrought,
> Good do thou now work,
> O mistress spider![3]

When an Albanian wife has no children, or is the mother of girls only, she, like her Greek sister, attributes her misfortune to some enemy of her family having tied together a number of nettles with this object, and has recourse to counter-spells in order to

[1] Ἐβά σίβι ε ντρουθὶ
Ἐβά χίνι ε νταρίνι (lit. "drank it up").

[2] Perhaps, like the similar Greek name, a form of Maria or Mary.

[3] Tarantulas are called by the Albanians by the generic name for spider μαρμαγκα. Comp. Von Hahn's *Albanesische Studien*, p. 157.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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842 remove the charm. If an Albanian, having lost his first wife, marries a second in what the relatives of the deceased may consider indecent haste, they revenge themselves upon him by pouring water upon the grave of his dead wife, in the belief that this will have the effect of causing his second spouse to be childless.

761 751 Among the Christian Tosks, if two or more children of a family have died in infancy, the next born baby is passed three times through a kind of iron tripod. If yet another child dies, the next baby is placed where four roads meet, a silver cross, for which nine women who bear the name of Maro have given the metal, is laid on its body, and the first passer-by is [608] asked to be godfather or godmother to it.

782 In some places, the neighbourhood of Dibra, for instance, black sheep are said to be sacrificed by witch-wives for the benefit of sick persons. Similar sacrifices appear to be now substituted for those of human beings, who, in the popular traditions of the Albanians, [491] as in those of other nations, are said to have been formerly buried under the foundations of important buildings;[1] for Von Hahn relates that, during the present century, when a new bridge was about to be built by the Governor-General's orders over the rapid river Arcen, twelve sheep were sacrificed, their heads being buried under the piers, in order that they might be able to withstand the force of the current.

789 731 When swarms of locusts or cockchafers, as some-

[1] See, for instance, the Greek song of "The Bridge of Arta," *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 81; and "The Monastery of Argis" in Alexandri's *Ballades de la Roumanie*.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud. For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants, its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the head by Albanians (p. 230). as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

438 On the other side of the picture lie the craftsmen and shopkeepers in the towns, some Albanian, others Turkish, others Serbian. These craftsmen live off the exports from the mountains and from the other agricultural regions around them, and supply the mountaineers with their needs, including firearms and ammunition, as well as the objects previously listed.

So far the picture is simple, mountaineers on one side of the fence, townsmen on the other. A mountaineer may become a townsman, but never the reverse. At several points, however, the security of the mountains is penetrated: by the itinerant masons who build *kullas*,[1] by the *hanjis*[2] and *kiragis*[3] who handle traffic and care for travelers, and by the shopkeepers, who are themselves usually Ghegs, and who are found in the larger tribal villages, usually but one to a settlement. I can recall but one in Mirdita, none in Shoshi, while in the country villages of Dibra, Luma, and Puka, along the main roads, there were several. These men sold tea and sugar, needles and thread, cigarette papers, salt and pepper, a little candy, candles, kerosene, kerchiefs, and matches. They saved a trip to town for minor purchases.

511 With this balance of production and trade,[4] the Ghegs barely succeed in making a living. If their average income could be accurately assessed, it would be one of the lowest in Europe. The ordinary farmer has just enough clothing to cover his family. In some cases I have seen brothers with one suit between them; one had to stay indoors while the other went out. This was in Merturi. The ordinary household has just enough food to get through the year, saving the next year's seed and selling a little in the town. Many houses are the scenes of tightened belts and near starvation every spring. Since there is no knowledge of contraception, many children are born. As ideas of sanitation are also lacking, many people die, and the population is always a little greater than the threshold of tolerance. Feuds, sudden death, and emigration are necessary safety valves. Another very recent one is enlistment in the gendarmerie.

[842]
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1 [See Cat. 116, pp. 14b - 15a -- Analyst]
2 [See Cat 116, pp. 20b - 21a -- Analyst]
3 [See Cat. 116 pp. 20a - 20b - Analyst]
4 [See Cat. 116 pp 21a - b -- Analyst]

000 TO THE anthropologist, selective marriage systems, such as cross-cousin and parallel-cousin, are run-of-the-mill phenomena. But the anthropologist is used to dealing primarily with non-European peoples, living far from centers of civilization. To the sociologist brought up on European and American subject matter it is an event to discover a "primitive" system in operation only 250 miles from Rome, in the 20th century.

592 As our study of material culture made clear, the Gheg family, like that of the early Israelites, or of the Chinese of any period, is an economic institution. One household, consisting of a man, his wife or wives, his sons, unmarried daughters, and son's children, lives in a single house or group of houses, and all ordinarily work together. The most complicated tasks which confront them require the co-operation of such a group, but no more, except in rare events when neighboring kinsmen may be called in. Isolation and political insecurity enhance the frequency and strength of the mutual relations of the family members. In some of the tribes, notably Dukagin, these households number up to 30 or 40 persons; the Arabic word *mehalla* (military camp) is used to designate them.

[462] A sex division of labor clearly separates the work of the women from that of the men. Each needs the other. A houseful of widows and unmarried women would be unthinkable, as would a house occupied by men alone. The family must be a balanced unit. If a man dies his place must be filled if possible; if a woman fails to bear children another must be found who can. The family must continue, and since so many men are killed before they reach maturity, it must produce boys. The birth of girls is less important because they are not killed, and because they leave the family to get married.

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582 For a number of very good reasons, it is considered desirable to obtain wives for one's sons from a distance. In the first place, if a

[127] [1] The principal source of this chapter is my own records. However, I also made use of Miss M. E